2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.102A] Hoggar

792 the power that is entrusted to him; and the man of the sword pays. It is indeed his turn."
000 As a typical example of a nomad warrior buying the benediction of a holy man, Monod cites the transaction between Abram and Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high God" (Genesis, *14:* 18–20), and he reconstructs the scene in imaginative but wholly convincing detail drawn from his long experience among desert nomad tribes. After Melchizedek had invoked the blessing of God on Abram, the latter said: "How much will that be?" "Nay, my lord is joking," replied Melchizedek, "It's free, I *give* my blessing; I *give* it to him." And Abram bowed down and said (thinking that after all if the blessing wasn't paid for it might not work, and knowing only too well moreover what his interlocutor meant by "gift"): "Harken unto me: I give the price of the blessing and of the amulets for my camels; accept it of me." And Melchizedek answered him: "Let not my lord be vexed, and may he harken unto me: I do not sell him power, I give it to him. But if in return he chooses to bring me the tenth part of all that is his, what is that between us?" And Abram understood, "And he gave him tithes of all" (Genesis, *14:* 20).[14] Nothing could be more characteristic of desert nomads and revealing of the basic relationship between them and holy men in the Sahara Desert and elsewhere.

●105 Summary. The Tuareg of the Ahaggar are a diversified pastoral nomadic group who live in a very arid mountainous massif, an environment that requires extreme mobility.

Their social organization seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans which are grouped into tribes that form a confederation. There are two main social classes, commonly referred to as "nobles" and "vassals," and rank, which embodies the right of succession to authority, is inherited in the female line, but a new chief can take and hold office only by consent of a general council of all male heads of families or clans who come under his control. This is doubtless because the clans that are strongest in terms of material wealth and fighting manpower as well are in the

[14] The King James Version of the Old Testament does not make quite clear just who gave tithes to whom, but Knox (1948, p. 18), in his translation of

105 "vassal" class. Thus the government is in effect a republic of basically Berber type which is kept from turning into either a democracy or an hereditary autocracy by the presence of a double descent system whose origin is unknown.

The economy is now based on the conservational domestication of camels, goats and hairy sheep, and on crop sharing with sedentary Haratin tenant gardeners. The flourishing caravan trade of the Tuareg has been largely destroyed by mechanized competition, while the exaction of toll charges from passing caravans of other groups and the practice of systematic raiding have been suppressed altogether by the French authorities. Thus the whole economic structure has been thrown seriously out of balance and is now disintegrating fast.

Manual labor and domestic services are performed by Negro slaves of Sudanese origin, who are usually present in numbers roughly equal to those of their masters. Manufactured goods are obtained mainly from outside the area in exchange for salt that is mined locally. Equipment maintenance and the occasional manufacture and decoration of articles of metal, wood and leather, are in the hands of a few small and scattered families of semi-sedentary smiths about whom almost nothing is known.

Shelter takes the form of small lightweight tents of leather or sometimes grass huts. Clothing is loose, voluminous and light in weight, and men wear a combination veil and turban which protects their eyes from glare and their faces from wind and sunburn. Tuareg costume is an ideal mechanism for the purposes of insulation, ventilation and sweat-loss control in the climate of the Ahaggar, although the Tuareg themselves claim to have no knowledge of or interest in its very great practical value.

Thus we see that the Tuareg of the Ahaggar had achieved an adaptation to their chosen environment that was about as perfect as could be, in terms of social, political and economic organization and of material culture, until the forces of European culture contact

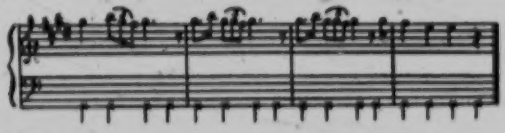
the Vulgate as interpreted in the light of earlier Greek and Hebrew texts, leaves no room for doubt on this point.

105 began to destroy the economic base and so to undermine the entire structure.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

533 The melody of this attractive little song is more advanced than the two preceding examples, but the accompanying rhythm is now restricted to a straight beat that never varies:

Voices in Unison



Rhythm

535 Dancing among the Tuareg seems to be restricted to the men; a kind of war dance, nowadays no more than a remembrance of things past, in which they stamp and whoop and brandish their weapons in time to the chanting of the women. It is possible, though not likely, that Tuareg women do dance at the "ahals"; but in the absence of actual corroboration the supposition may be discounted: the role of women would appear to be predominantly passive, the initiative being the prerogative of the men. It must be remembered that the Tuareg has not the settled village existence of the African tribe and as a result his life is marked less by organised ceremony, less by religious observance, however primitive. Aloof and alone the Targui remains the "last of the desert". Within two days' journey of his territory his name becomes legendary: little is known of his customs and his music is unheard. He is the Abandoned of God.

105

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matrilineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first Frenchi

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920-28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

TUAREG CULTURAL SUMMARY

105

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking nomadic stockbreeders who live in the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. They fall into seven main groups or political units, comprising around 240,000-300,000 individuals (excluding Negro slaves). The Tuareg speak various dialects of Tamahaq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber. The peculiarity of Tamahaq as a Berber language is that it can be written with its own characters, which are called tifinagh.

The Tuareg of the Sahara proper are grouped into three confederations: the Tassili-n-Ajjer, the Ahaggar, and the Adrar-n-Ifughas, distributed in that order from northeast to southwest. The Ahaggar confederacy, isolated in the heart of the Sahara desert and the most extensively studied to date, will serve as the sample for the following summary of Tuareg culture. The Ahaggar Tuareg number around 4,400 and comprise twenty-six clans. Approximately 4,000 Negro slaves are attached to the Ahaggars.

The question of the origin and early history of the Tuaregs is still unresolved. Aside from certain somatic traits such as tall stature, an arm span often greater than their height, smooth or

105 wavy black hair and a lack of hirsuteness, the chief distinguishing characteristics of the Tuaregs are the unity of their language, their use of tifinagh characters, and their complex social organization, with its matrilineal and matriarchal elements. Their history, going back to their first contact with Moslem Arabs (probably Shorfa missionaries from Morocco) in the seventh or early eighth century, is one of incessant conflict between Negro kingdoms and Tuareg, between Arabs and Tuareg, and between different Tuareg tribes. They were more or less united under a noble tribe, the Imenanes, until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Imenanes, following defeat in battle, were obliged to divide their lands and authority. The partition into the present groups dates from that time.

The Tuareg possess a highly stratified and complicated social system. In general they are divided into three main classes: the Tuareg nobles, imochar, the Tuareg vassals, imrad, and a third lower class comprised of Negroid and mixed people grouped into three castes based on occupation (gardeners, harratin, domestics and slaves, iklan, and artisans, inaden). Rank is a quality of the clan rather than the individual, for the Tuareg speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans." The Ahaggar confederacy is made up of three tribes: the Kel Rela, the Tegehe Mellet, and the Taitoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole. Noble clans

●105 and their dependent vassal clans are arranged in order of precedence, and the chief of the premier clan (the Kel Bela) is also chief of the Kel Bela tribe and ipso facto the paramount chief, amenokal, of the Ahaggar confederacy. Vassal clans are the traditional pastoralists, camel and goat breeders. They hold exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one may encroach without permission excepting the noble clans, who are always free to use the pasture of their vassal clans. Many Tuareg also own garden plots in agricultural centers which are leased to harratin share croppers or are worked by slaves.

All vassal clans pay tribute to their tribal chiefs, who in turn pay it to the paramount chief, the amenokal. Tribute is normally in grain and/or livestock. In return, the noble clans pledge to supply the warriors and protect their vassals in case of external aggression. Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line, but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relationship, so that an undesirable heir apparent can easily be passed over in favor of a less direct but more acceptable heir. The chief is chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by a council made up of male heads of households and is confirmed in his office by male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe.

105 Tribal chiefs act as judges, and the amenokal is chief justice of his confederation. The amenokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called a tobol. This instrument is so representative of command to the Tuareg that they often refer to the amenokal and his whole clan as tobol. The original role of the paramount chief was that of a war leader, and in normal times he still arbitrates conflicts. In principle, he has the power of life and death; on the other hand, in his national role, vis-à-vis neighboring or foreign tribes, the amenokal's decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables called the arollan. This assembly is composed of the principal chiefs of all the factions, plus the nobility. It should be emphasized at this point that the position of a Tuareg clan is not firmly fixed within the framework of the confederation. Component clans may break away from the tribe and attach themselves to a more powerful tribe. At least one clan, the Ibotenaten, was reduced from noble to vassal status by a crushing defeat suffered in the course of a blood feud. In all the Tuareg confederations, the vassals, or imrad, outnumber the nobles in the ration of five to one.

Both manual labor and domestic service are performed by the third class in the Tuareg society. This class is composed of

105 heterogeneous and ethnically mixed peoples living in symbiotic relationship with their masters, the Tuareg. The iklan are the Negro slaves or descendents of former slaves who are attached to Tuareg families and take care of herding, cooking, and all other domestic chores. The artisans and smiths of the Tuareg are the inaden of mixed racial origin, who manufacture all that the nomadic Tuareg needs and in addition act as barber-surgeons. These form a closed caste and are found in single families or small numbers at agricultural centers or attached periodically to Tuareg encampments. The third group are the harratin, Negroid sedentary tenant farmers who rent land from the Tuareg and work it on share cropping basis. The Tuareg hold the three groups in low social esteem.

The economy of the nomadic Tuareg is based on conservational domestication of camels, goats, and hairy sheep, and on crop sharing with the harratin tenant gardeners. The once flourishing caravan trade of the Tuareg has been largely destroyed by mechanized competition, while the exaction of toll charges from passing caravans of other groups and the practice of systematic raiding has been suppressed by French authorities. The Tuareg pitch their camps in or close to mountain massifs, of which the most important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Rainfall is

105 irregular, and a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions. Pasturage is either very sparse or very scattered, with the result that the people are continually breaking up into small and highly mobile camp units moving at intervals of between a week to a month, always within the territorial limits of the tribe. Herds of camels and flocks of goats and hairy sheep constitute the bulk of the capital investment and the primary basis of the economy. Trade used to be very important, with salt the chief article of export. In July, salt from local mines, camels, donkeys, and dates (from oases in the north) were taken south to markets in Nigeria and exchanged for millet, cotton cloth, tea, sugar, and tobacco. This trade is still practiced, but on a very limited scale.

The Tuareg live on the products of their animals, but meat and milk are not enough, especially in dry years. The basic elements of their diet are milk, millet, and dates. Millet, enelè, is cultivated both in the Saharian oases and the Sudan. It is usually crushed with pestles and winnowed to keep only the white flour, which is used in many dishes. Asink is the national dish: coarse millet flour is boiled into thick porridge to which fine sifted flour is later added. This is served with milk and/or butter. Milk, another basic food, is drunk fresh, sour, or curdled, and is also

105 made into butter and cheese. Meat is highly preferred, but is eaten irregularly. The meat most used is that of goats. Mutton is eaten less often, and camel only in exceptional circumstances, since camels are very rarely slaughtered for food. Meat of gazelles and wild sheep is highly esteemed but is not frequently available. Practically speaking, the Tuareg never eat fresh vegetables, but they do use dried onions and tomatoes. Chicken, eggs, and fish are never eaten by the Tuareg. They drink water, milk, and tea. Green tea is very popular and is served aromatized with mint or other local herbs. Coffee is rarely used and then only medicinally.

Shelter takes the form of small lightweight tents of leather or sometimes grass huts. Clothing is loose, voluminous, and light in weight. Men wear a dark blue or black combination veil and turban that covers all of the head and face except for the eyes. These veils are not removed, even for eating. Women go barefaced but with a head kerchief.

Although the Tuareg still retain many of their pre-Islamic magico-religious beliefs and practices, they are all nominally Moslems. They are known to be lukewarm as to religion, and even the important annual Moslem fast of Ramadhan is not generally observed. Occasionally some fanatic North African Moslem sect

105 (such as the Sanussi of Libya) may rally one clan or another of the Tuareg to its cause. But these conversions do not last long, and the Tuareg revert to a passive, vague form of Islam which is permeated by local superstition and magic. Amulets are very common, and belief in jinns and spirits is not confined to women. Several Marabout and Shorfa families (all claiming some descent from the prophet Mohammad or his Arab clan) are found in the area, and some run Koranic schools in the garden centers. These Marabouts may be called upon by the Tuareg to write amulets or to say prayers at funerals, but in no way are they as active or powerful as they are in the rest of North and West Africa.

Marriage is usually, though not always, within the clan. Cross-cousin marriage is said to be the preferred pattern. Statistically, however, the most common type is for a man to marry a maternal cousin or her daughter. In this way a man and his father may belong to the same matrilineage. The question of Tuareg matriarchy is debatable. The Tuareg practice a system of double descent, following matrilineal principles in specific cases and patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged. Traditionally, the matrilineal principle is valid for (1) succession to chieftainship (since a Tuareg child

105 always inherits rank and position through his mother) (2) succession to land rights, and (3) succession to property considered indivisible. Islamic rules of inheritance, on the other hand, are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit in such a way that a son gets twice the amount allotted to a daughter. Authority is vested in the father, never the maternal uncle or the mother. A newly married couple live in the camp of the bride's parents for about a year, then usually move over to the camp of the husband. Tuareg camps are known by the name of the highest ranking male member of the community. A widowed woman and her unmarried children are usually taken into the family circle of her brother. It is a peculiarity of the Tuareg social organization, which seems to be based on essentially matrilineal and patriarchal extended and joint family clans, in that it resembles groups in West Africa rather than their immediate neighbors, the Arabs or the Berbers.

The usual age for marriage is twenty to twenty-five for women and close to thirty for men. Monogamy is the universal rule, and divorce is both unusual and generally frowned upon. A bride price is given to the parents of the bride, part of which is turned over to the bride as her personal property. She retains full title to this and to any other wealth she has, and is under no obligation

105 to contribute to the household expenses. Women are treated with respect and deference, but they can hold no office nor exercise any command beyond the limits of their tents. Premarital relations between the sexes are conducted at social gatherings, the chief function of which seems to be getting the young people to know each other. These gatherings or "open houses" are of two main types: tendi and ahal. Tendi are held on the afternoon, and ahal at night. At both types, young men and women, dressed in their best, gather in open areas around one or more young women who play musical instruments, sing, or recite poetry. Often the group participates in singing, storytelling, or improvising poetry. Such a gathering is a perfect occasion for young people to show their wit and musical abilities and to arrange secret rendezvous.

Marriage always involves a bride price, which varies according to the beauty and social standing of the bride and the wealth of the husband. Wedding festivities take place in the bride's camp. Children are highly desired in the community, and the sterility of one of the partners is one of the few valid causes for divorce. Nursing lasts from two to two and one half years, with boys being nursed a little longer than girls. All boys are circumcised collectively when they are three or four years old. The occasion is a

105 simple one, and there are no special festivities. Children hang around the camp, the boys helping their fathers with the herding while the girls assist their mothers. At the age of fifteen or sixteen, "when the hair on the face begins to show," the father gives his son a blue veil called a tidjelmoust. This is usually done at the annual Moslem feast. Along with the veil, the boy is given some good advice by his father and gifts of tobacco from his mother and sisters. With the wearing of the veil, the boy has entered the class of men.

The men's veil, or tidjelmoust, is the most distinctive and arresting article of clothing among the Tuareg. Self-respecting Tuareg think it shockingly indecent for a man to let his mouth be seen by anyone to whom he owes formal respect; nor will he show his face to anyone whose social standing he considers superior to his own. The veil is always arranged so that the eyeslit is as narrow as possible. The standard variations in ways of wearing the veil are indicative of the social status, tribal and clan affiliations, and even the moods of the wearer. The most preferred veils are dyed indigo, though many make do with black ones.

Death is not feared by the Tuareg. The deceased are washed, draped in new clothes, and buried in a nearby high spot. If a

105 Marabout is available, he reads the Moslem prayers. There is no wailing nor any public display of sentiment. The camp is immediately broken and the place is not used again. Condolences often include the following formula: "You are fortunate, for the one you love is now in the paradise of God."

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Identification

The Ahaggar (Ahaggaren, Ihaggaren, Hoggar, Kel Ahaggar) are a tribe of Tuareg belonging to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They number just under 5, 000 (Demoulin), 4, 250 (Lhote), 4, 400 including l, 150 sedentary Harratin (Foley). All are Moslems, and, despite numerous theories to the contrary, it is extremely doubtful whether they (or any other Tuareg) were Christian before their conversion to Islam. There is general literacy, especially among women, in an old Berber system of writing with an alphabet of 24 characters, mainly consonants. This is derived from a Libyan Berber alphabet of about the 4th century B. C. The Ahaggar country has yielded Chellean-Aucheulian and Levalloisian artifacts.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic, though a very moderate amount of agriculture is done with irrigation and hoe cultivation. The chief crop is wheat (Triticum durum). Also grown are barley (Hordeum vulgare), bulrish millet (Pennicillaria spicata), "bechena" (Sorghum cernuum), and a little sorghum (Andropogon sorghum). Some dates (Phoenix dactylifera) are raised, but only one-fourth of the local consumption. Other fruits are figs (Ficus carica), peaches (Amygdalus persicus), apricots (Prunus armeniaca), and grapes (Vitis vinifera). Vegetables grown are carrots, beans, lentils, peas, onions, rape, eggplant, tomatoes, squash, cucumbers, melons, watermelons, peppers, and garlic. A very little cotton and tobacco are raised.

Numerous camels, donkeys, sheep (with hair), and goats are kept, and a very few zebu cattle, horses, and chickens, but no cats or pigs. The flesh of dogs, horses, and donkeys is not eaten; chickens and eggs are eaten only by Negroes. Meat is consumed only for feasts. Milk, drunk both fresh and sour, is the principal food, and both butter and cheese are made. Camels, sheep, and goats are milked, but not donkeys (though Demoulin disagrees with other authorities on this point). Some hunting (with dogs) and trapping are done, and ostriches were formerly hunted for their plumes. The meat of antelope and gazelles is dried or salted; it is stored and also exported. Fishing is done only by Negroes; nobles and Imrad do not eat fish. Plants gathered for food include Aristida pungens, Cenchrus echinatus, Eragrostis cynosuroides, Panicum turgidum, Phelipaea violacea, and jujube (Zizyphus lotus); the foods thus secured are a fairly important supplement to the diet. There is considerable caravan trade with In Salah in Tuat to the N and with Air and Gamergu to the S, and a little with Fezzan and Tripolitania to the NE. Salt (mined in Amadror) and livestock are traded to

the S in exchange for grain, cloth, and articles of apparel. Livestock, butter and cheese, dried and salted meat, and formerly captured slaves and ostrich plumes are traded to the N in exchange for dates, cotton goods, and firearms.

Sex Division of Labor

Men alone hunt and herd. Agriculture is done only by Negro slaves and Harratin, gathering by slave and Imrad women. In general, women do not engage in primary food production.

Property

The chief wealth is in livestock, of which a large proportion is owned by women. Each tribe has collective property rights in special grazing grounds. Subject to the eminent domain of the paramount chief, all classes except slaves and Harratin can acquire usufruct rights in unused land by bringing it under cultivation.

Bissuel reports patrilineal inheritance--one sixth by widow, the remainder by children with sons taking double shares, in default of children by siblings in same manner. Duveyrier, however, reports patrilineal inheritance only of movable property, by children equally regardless of sex, and states that all customary privileges and rights to real property are inherited matrilineally without partition, by ElSiElSo; Lhote seems to confirm this in his data on succession.

Social Stratification

There is an elaborate social stratification, with the following divisions:

a. Nobles, called Imochar or Ihaggaren, who handle all political affairs, engage in warfare and raids, and provide protection for the other classes. They lead a parasitic life, engaging in no manual labor except to maintain riding and transport camels and a few goats to provide a daily milk supply. Their herds are tended mainly by their vassals.
b. Marabouts, called Inislimen. They eschew war and politics for a life of piety and scholarship, and are exempt from taxation.
c. Semi-nobles, called Iradjenaten, mentioned only by Bissuel. They are the offspring of

noble fathers and Imrad mothers. Demoulin, however, says there are tribes of mixed blood, or who, being weak, have forfeited their independent position for security in return for tribute.

d. Vassals, called Imrad. They outnumber the higher classes 5 to 1 (Lhote), 8 to 1 (Duveyrier). They bear arms and fight, but are mainly engaged in herding flocks, operating caravans, and occasionally doing agriculture. They are organized in tribes of their own, which are tributary to particular noble tribes, to whose chiefs they pay an annual tribute in livestock, butter, tanned hides, and grain. They must also feed nobles whenever visited by them. Some as pure Caucasian, but many are somewhat mixed with Negro blood.

e. Artisans, called Enaden. They are few in number, are endogamous, pay no tribute, and make jewelry and knives or work in wood.

f. Tenant serfs, called Harratin. They are freed slaves and the descendants thereof, and are overwhelmingly Negroid. They come mainly from Tuat and engage in agriculture on a share-crop basis. Comparable to them are the Merabtin, sedentary Arabs from Tuat also working as share-croppers.

g. Slaves or hereditary serfs, called Iklan. They are Negroes, the descendants of Negroes captured in war or raids. They are extremely numerous; there are few upper-class or Imrad families which do not own slaves. Some do house work, but the majority herd the flocks or till the land of their masters.

Marriage

Individuals select their own marriage partners. Arrangements are made through an intermediary, often a marabout. A bride-price of at least six camels is customary among nobles, less among vassals. It is paid to the bride's parents, who may contribute it toward the dowry which they provide their daughter.

The almost universal prevalence of monogamy is stressed by all sources. Lhote states that a few marabouts, versed in Koranic law, are polygynous, and both he and Demoulin report occasional concubinage with slave women.

Family

The independent nuclear family is apparently the residential unit, though bands may have some of the characteristics of extended families.

Residence

Residence is initially matrilocal for one year, thereafter patrilocal with the band of the groom's father. The ultimate rule is often if not usually avunculocal, for on the death of their father children (with their widowed mother) are reported to remove to the group of their maternal kinsmen (though they remain with their Fa if their Mo is divorced).

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Islamic marriage restrictions are in force, involving the prohibition of marriage between any primary or secondary consanguineal relatives but allowing marriages between first cousins.

Descent is matrilineal. Children are affiliated with the social class of their mother and also with her kin group. There is inferentially a segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Kinship Terminology

A man shows respect toward his parents-in-law.

Settlement Pattern

The Ahaggar live mainly in small nomadic bands. Their temporary camps consist of 5-6 dismountable tents arranged in a rough circle to form a corral. Tents are made of 30-40 tanned sheep or goat skins sewn together, dyed red, supported on a framework of wooden poles, and pegged to the ground. There are two principal types of framework, one composed of arches, the other of forked posts with crossbars. The walls are commonly surrounded with woven grass mats. In cold weather, beehive huts of straw (mats?) are often used instead of tents. The sedentary Harratin live in rectangular flat-roofed houses of sun-dried bricks, usually isolated and surrounded by a fence. Transhumance occurs, but it is irregular rather than seasonal.

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Community Organization

Lhote and Duveyrier report that a band is composed of close relatives. Boys are circumcised at the age of 3-5, but clitoridectomy is not practiced.

Local Government

Each tribe (tausit) has a chief (amrar) and an assembly of adult males. Succession to the headship is matrilineal--by YoBr, then MoElSiElSo, then ElSiElSo. (This strongly suggests avuncu-clans).

State

Tribes are aggregated into three confederations (tobol), each headed by one of the three most important tribes (Kel Rela, Tidjehen, and Taitoq); each has a sheikh (amrar) and council. The three confederations recognize a single paramount chief (amenokal) and a council of notables (arollan) composed of tribal chiefs and nobles. The paramount chief is elective within a single matri-lineage, and can be deposed. Succession is normally by a YoBr, MoSiSo, or SiSo. The paramount chief receives fees from passing caravans, the product of particular lands and herds, and annual tribute in livestock, hides, butter, grain, and slaves. He arbitrates disputes, but is primarily a war leader, and his actions are subject to approval by the council. Bissuel also reports that the Ahaggar have a single judge (alem), normally a marabout, who is chosen by the council and travels about dispensing justice.

Warfare

The Ahaggar are warlike raiders and pillagers of caravans. Raids for slaves and livestock have been particularly common against the Aulliminden, Chaamba, and Berabish.

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Identification

The Asben (Air, Kel Air) are a Tuareg tribe numbering about 20, 000, all Moslems. They speak a language of the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They have their own ancient system of writing, and there is widespread literacy, especially among women. They include numerous sub-tribes, of whom the Gress (Kel Gress) Oui (Kel Oui), and Tadele (Kel Tadele) are among the most important. Urvoy (1936) gives the population of the Asben as 18, 500. Lhote (1944) reports a population of 28, 000. Urvoy says that the country was originally inhabited by Hausa-speaking Negroes, and that the Tuareg arrived between the 11th and 16th centuries (allegedly from the Maghreb and Tripolitania. The Negro indigenes were progressively evicted, mainly to Gobir. A period of anarchy was ended by the establishment of the sultanate in 1405. The Air were conquered by the Songhai in 1515; a century of prosperity followed, then a decline. Even before, Air, as an important center in the caravan trade, had been fought over and sometimes conquered by the rulers of Bornu, Mali, and Katsena. Shortly before 1700 Air was conquered by the Hausa state of Ader. During and following the 18th century there were many severe raids on Bilma, and in the 19th century there were bloody wars with the Soliman. The French occupied Agades permanently in 1906.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral, with transhumance, with important auxiliary agriculture, using irrigation and animal manure. The staple crop is millet, followed by sorghum. A little wheat is grown, and some vegetables, including carrots, onions, pumpkins, and squash. Dates are a staple food (whether grown or imported is not reported). Jean gives a census of livestock for all tribes except the Kel Gress, as follows (with numbers in parentheses including estimates for the Kel Gress): 20, 250 (23, 000) camels, 544 (600) horses, 2, 520 (3, 000) donkeys, 2, 490 (3, 000) cattle, and 32, 400 (37, 000) sheep and goats. Rodd says chickens are common and are eaten. Mutton and beef are eaten at religious feasts and family reunions, but the flesh of camels horses, and donkeys is consumed only in times of famine. Dogs and a few cats are kept as pets . Milk products are the principal article of diet; milk is drunk fresh or sour, and both butter and cheese are made. Cattle, both humpless and humped, are sometimes used for pack and riding animals, as well as camels, horses, and donkeys.

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Sex Division of Labor

Herding and all other labor in food production (except food preparation and making of butter and cheese) are done exclusively by men. Fatness is admired in women. Agriculture was formerly done by slaves.

Property

Cowries were formerly used as currency. Each extended family or tribe has its own grazing territory and water sources.

Rodd states that inheritance is matrilineal--by SiSo. Jean reports only the strict Koranic rule of an eighth to widows and the remainder divided equally among the children with sons receiving double shares. For the Tadele Joubert reports that children share equally in four fifths of an estate, with sons receiving 4 times as much as daughters, and with one fifth going to other heirs.

Social Stratification

Air society is stratified into nobles (Imajeghan), marabouts (religious and learned men who do not engage in commerce), vassals (Imrad), and slaves (divided into house slaves and field slaves). The status of vassals is relatively high; they are attached, not to individual nobles, but to groups of nobles (lineages?). Nobles can marry Imrad women and take slave concubines, but Imrad men cannot marry noble women. Jean reports, however, that the children of a noble man and an Imrad wife are semi-nobles (Iradjenaten) and if males,can marry noble women and produce noble offspring. Slaves are Negroes purchased or captured in the Soudan and their descendants; ordinary slaves can be sold, but not house slaves.

Marriage

A groom pays a variable but substantial bride-price, consisting of several camels or the equivalent in money or other livestock. The bride receives a dowry of livestock and often slaves; it is in part provided by her mother, in part contributed by the groom.

Polygyny, exclusively of the non-sororal type, and concubinage are permitted by Koranic law. Rodd reports that monogamy is the norm and that polygyny is rare. Joubert similarly states that the great majority of men are monogamous, though a fair number have 2-3 wives, and adds that concubines are never taken. Jean indicates that polygyny with a chief wife is common and that nobles often keep slave concubines (mistresses?) in the slave sections of the towns. Secondary

unions are allowed with WiSo after death of Wi, forbidden with BrWi, SoWi, and WiMo (Joubert on Tadele).

Family

The residential unit is a nuclear (or polygynous) family with their house slaves. The band, however, seems to be normally an extended family.

Residence

Residence is normally initially patrilocal. Children live with their parents until they marry, when daughters join their husbands and sons establish independent households commonly (but not always) adjacent to that of their parents. Ultimate residence, however, appears to be avunculocal. When their father dies, children return with their mother to their maternal kinsmen; if the mother dies before the father, they may remain with the latter for a time but eventually join their maternal relatives.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is forbidden with primary and secondary consanguineal relatives, but is permitted between first cousins.

Matrilineal descent prevails for social class status and for kin-group membership. Tribes or "clans" (Rodd) show a marked fissive tendency, and there is almost certainly a segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Settlement Pattern

The Air are for the most part organized in nomadic bands, but there are four permanent villages (and other ruined ones) and one sizable town, the capital, Agades, with a population of about 1, 000 (formerly several times as many). Agades was formerly surrounded by a mud wall. Here and in the permanent villages there are rectangular houses with flat roofs and walls of stones laid in mud. The usual semi-permanent house is round and consists of a framework of flexible poles set in the ground and joined at the top; it is of beehive shape and is covered with grass mats. In nomadic camps the Air use dismountable tents of approximately rectangular shape made of flexible arched poles set in the ground, covered with tanned hides with mats around the sides; the roof is a low dome. In a camp each family often pitches its tents (1 for family head, 1 for his Wi, and 1-2 for his children and servants) as much as several hundred yards distant from other families.

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Community Organization

Jean intimates that a band is essentially an extended family or localized lineage, but Joubert reports for the Tadele that a band is based on friendship rather than on kinship. Boys are circumcised. Age-grades are apparently lacking.

Local Government

Each band has a headman. Succession is either non-hereditary by election or matrilineal, by a SiSo (Rodd); succession is normally elective within a particular matri-lineage--by YoBr or SiSo (Jean).

State

The Air are politically organized into a loose confederation under a paramount chief, the sultan of Air. However, the Kel Gress in the W have an independent chief, and the tribes on the caravan routes in the N acknowledge the authority of a chief called Anastafilet. The sultan of Air is elected from the lineage of the founder by the Itessen sub-tribe of the Kel Gress--an old prerogative. The candidate most liberal with gifts is normally selected. The sultan can be deposed by a special council of seven representing several tribes. His authority is extremely limited. He levies no direct taxes and derives his income largely from caravan fees, estates without heirs, and fines.

Warfare

The Air are warlike and much given to raids for booty in livestock and slaves. They are particularly hostile toward Arabs.

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Identification

The Antessar (Kel Antessar), with whom are included the Tengeredief (Tengeregif) and other tribes descended from the Aulliminden and Tadmekket (Kel Tademeket) in the general region of Timbuctoo N of the Niger River, are a Tuareg nation belonging to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They are Moslems. They are sprung from the Iforas of Adrar. The Tadmekket, defeated by the Aulliminden in 1653, sought refuge with the Moroccan pashas in the Timbuctoo region and westward. The Aulliminden pressed behind them, waged frequent wars with the pashas, and finally conquered Timbuctoo in 1787, dominating it until the arrival of the French about 1900. Lhote (1944) gives the population of this group of tribes as about 40,000.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic, although considerable agriculture is practiced by the Bella serfs. The chief crops are rice, millet, and sorghum, but some wheat, maize, onions, watermelons, peppers, radishes, and even cotton are grown. Numerous camels, horses, donkeys, cattle (chiefly zebu but some humpless), sheep, and goats are kept, as well as dogs, chickens, and pigeons. Milk (drunk both fresh and sour), butter, and cheese are basic items in the diet. Some hunting and gathering of wild seeds are done, but only Sorko Songhai fish. Hides, meat, and milk products are exchanged at the markets for grain and various necessities, but trade is left mainly to the Songhai and Berabich.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt and herd. Women make butter and cheese and trade in the markets. Only the Bella serfs engage in agriculture.

Property

The chief wealth is in livestock.

Both Aymard and Miner report that inheritance is patrilineal--contrasting with the matrilineal rule of most Tuareg.

Social Stratification

There is a complex stratification into largely endogamous social classes or castes:

a. Nobles, called Imochar or Surgu (Songhai), who do not work except herding and are prone to war

and pillage. They include a sub-class of marabouts, who bear no arms, are literate, and engage in animal husbandry and religious activities.

b. Vassals, called Imrad or Daga (Songhai), who live by by herding and pay regular tribute to the dominant nobles.

c. Serfs, called Iklan or Bella (Songhai), who are Negroes descended from former slaves and captives and engage in agriculture. Some are house slaves.

d. Outcastes, called Inadan, who include smiths and woodworkers, leather workers, and griots (musicians and bards). The smiths, who are Negroid, occupy an ambivalent position, both despised and esteemed.

Marriage

Marriage is arranged by a youth's father or ElBr. It involves a substantial bride-price, ranging in amount from a dozen sheep to a dozen camels. The bride brings a dowry into marriage. Premarital sex freedom is general, and virginity is not demanded.

The upper classes are exclusively monogamous, but polygyny with a chief wife is common among the Bella serfs. The levirate and sororate (but not sororal polygyny) are allowed, but are not common.

Residence

Patrilocality prevails, but avunculocal residence is not uncommon.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local agamy is inferential.

Marriage is forbidden with primary and secondary consanguineal relatives but is permitted with any first cousin. Cross-cousin marriage, despite a verbal preference for it, is actually not common.

Descent is matrilineal, and Miner speaks of "lineages." There is, however, no unilinear exogamy. Marriages across caste lines do occur, though they are rare, but a man is strictly forbidden to marry a woman of a caste higher than himself. It is in consequence of this prohibition, coupled with matrilineal inheritance of class status, that the Tuareg have succeeded (far better than the Arab) in maintaining their racial purity.

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Kinship Terminology

Fa--abba. Mo--anna. So--rurer. Da--eller. Br--angar. ElBr--amakar. YoBr--amadrai. Si--teceqqaq. ElSi--tamakart. YoSi--tamadrait. Hu--ahales. Wi--hanner.

FaBr--angasnabba. MoBr--angasnanna, angatmar. FaSi--wuletmasnabba. MoSi--wuletmasnanna. For other terms see special kinship sheets.

FaBrCh--aramedden. MoSiCh--tangaten. FaSiSo, MoBrSo--ababash. FaSiDa, MoBrDa--tababasht.

Settlement Pattern

The Antessar live in nomadic bands and camp in portable tents of tanned sheep or goat skins, commonly dyed red. Their slaves live in mat shelters at the edge of the camps; those who are sedentary, however, occupy beehive huts of grass thatch over a wooden framework with the huts of a family enclosed in a fenced compound. Zeltner describes the tent as a vast rectangle of about 60 tanned goat or sheep skins sustained by a tall pole in the middle and shorter ones on either side with the edges fastened to stakes. He says that E of 2° W the dwelling type changes to a mat tent, and that at the border of Air this changes to camel-hair tents of Hoggar type.

Community Organization

Aymard reports that those who camp together constitute a "family" (possibly a lineage). Circumcision is practiced at about the age of 8. The Bella of Timbuctoo have true age-grades, with a span of about 10 years, possibly in acculturation to the Songhai.

Local Government

Each band elects a headman.

State

Tribes are organized under paramount chiefs (amenokal), elected by an assembly of headmen.

Warfare

The Antessar, like all Tuareg, are confirmed warriors and raiders.

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Identification

The Aulliminden (Awellimiden, Illemmeden, Oulimminden, Oulliminden) are a tribe of Tuareg, belonging to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. Their population is not reported. Urvoy (1942) states that there are about 300,000 Tuareg in the French Soudan, including their Bella (Ifrauellen) slaves, but the same author (1936) estimates the total population of pure-blood Tuareg (including Imrad) at no more than 50,000. Temple (1922) reports 45,000 Tuareg (presumably Aulliminden) in NW Nigeria, including their Hausa serfs. Jean gives the population of the Aulliminden in 1909 as about 7,000. Zeltner (1914) reports 87,000 Tuareg in the French Soudan. Lhote (1944) gives the population of the Aulliminden group of tribes (including the Igwadaren and Udalen) as about 162,000, of whom 94,000 are Negro slaves; he gives the total Tuareg population (all groups) as about 240,000. Urvoy (1936) states that the present country of the Aulliminden was originally occupied by Negroes, mainly Hausa, and that the Aulliminden are derived from the Iforas of Adrar. When Adrar was liberated from Songhai rule by the Moroccan conquest, the Aulliminden first defeated and expelled the Tadmeket, who sought refuge in the Timbuctoo region. After 1690 the Aulliminden pressed S from Adrar to the Gao region, where they became increasingly turbulent, warring against the Kunta, Tadmeket, and the pashas of Timbuctoo. Offshoots occupied much of the country within the Niger bend. In 1787, the Aulliminden conquered Timbuctoo, which they continued to dominate, with brief interruptions, until the advent of French rule. Delafosse (1912) says that the Aulliminden were attracted to the Gao region during the rule of the Songhai in the early 16th century, and embraced Islam at that time.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral. Camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, are kept. Milk, butter, and cheese are a mainstay of the diet.

Sex Division of Labor

Women are fattened and do little productive work. They are, however, said to milk cows.

Property

The chief wealth is in livestock.

Inheritance is reported by Hourst to be patrilineal, inheritance by SiSo having been repudiated.

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Social Stratification

The society is stratified into noble tribes, vassal tribes (Imrad), and Negro slaves.

Marriage

A bride-price in livestock is inferential.
Monogamy prevails. Cicisbeism is said to be common.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Hourst reports that matrilineal descent for class status has been shifted to patrilineal descent with the result that the Aulliminden are more Negroid than other Tuareg tribes. Nicolas reports patrilineal descent.

Settlement Pattern

The Aulliminden wander in nomadic bands and live in tents. Hourst describes the tent as made of skins which are upheld by a central pole with the edges fastened to pegs. Urvoy (1942) describes the typical Tuareg (apparently characteristic of the Aulliminden area) as made of tanned sheep or goat skins stretched over a framework. He also reports that Bella slaves often occupy hemispherical mat shelters.

Community Organization

The Aulliminden are aggregated into camps (amezzar), groups of these into tribes (tausi).

State

Each tribe (tausi) has a chief (amrar). The Aulliminden are a confederation of three tribes (the Kel Ahar, Kel Tedjucan, and Kel Kumeden) headed by a paramount chief belonging to the Kel Kumeden; he is succeeded by his next younger Br, then ElBrElSo.

Warfare

The Aulliminden are a warlike tribe of raiders.

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Identification

The Azjer (Adjeur, Ajjer, Ashar, Azger, Azguer, Kel Azdjer) are the northeastern-most principal group of Tuareg. They speak a language of the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock, and have preserved a very old system of writing; nearly all the women and a third of the men are literate. The Azjer are composed of the Imanan, Oraghen, and four other noble tribes, two maraboutic tribes, and a number of vassal or serf tribes. Lhote (1944) reports a population of 1, 500 exclusive of Azjer in Italian territory. All are Moslems.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic, but considerable agriculture is done in the oases and on the borders of Fezzan. The staple crop is dates (Phoenix dactylifera), followed by "blé" or wheat (Triticum durum) and "orge" or barley (Hordeum). Negroes cultivate considerable bulrush millet (Penicillaria spicata), and a little sorghum (Sorghum vulgare) and broom-corn millet (Panicum miliaceum) are also grown. Important fruits, other than dates, are figs (Ficus carica), olives (Olea europaea), pomegranates (Punica granatum), apricots (Prunus armeniaca), "coignassier" or quinces (Cydonia vulgaris), and grapes (Vitis finifera) for raisins; some apples (Malus communis), peaches (Amygdalus persicus), plums (Prunus domesticus), and oranges (Citrus aurantium) are also grown. Important vegetables are broad beans (Faba vulgaris), hyacinth beans (Dolichos lubia), peas, (Pisum sativum), chick peas (Cicer arietinum), okra (Hibiscus esculentus), purslane (Portulaca oleracea), "aubergine" or eggplant (Solanum melogena), onions (Allium cepa), "navet" or rape (Brassica napus), beets (Beta vulgaris), tomatoes (Lycopersicum esculentum), "citrouille" or pumpkins (Cucurbita pepo), "potiron" or squash (C. maxima), cucumbers (Cucumis sativa), muskmelons (Cucumis melo), and watermelons or "pastèque (Citrullus citrullus); some carrots (Daucus carota), and cabbage (Brassica oleracea) are also grown. As condiments, considerable cumin (Cuminum cyminum), coriander (Coriandrum sativum), and peppers (Capsicum annuum) are grown, as well as a little garlic (Allium sativa) and fennel (Nigella sativa). Crops grown for other purposes than food are henna (Lawsonia inermis), tobacco (Nicotiana rústica), gourds (Lagenaria vulgaris), Lygeum spartum (a fiber plant), and a little indigo (Indigofera argentea), hemp (Cannabinus sativa) for hashish, and cotton (Gossypium herbaceum).

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Numerous camels, donkeys, sheep (with hair), and goats are kept, some zebu cattle, a few horses, dogs, and (in permanent settlements only) cats, chickens, and pigeons, but no pigs. Camels, sheep, and goats are milked, and cheese and butter are made; milk products form an important constituent of the diet. Fowl and eggs are not eaten by nobles. The flesh of camels, sheep, and goats is eaten. Some hunting is done, and the dried meat of antelopes and gazelles, used on caravan journeys, is marketed at Ghadames. There is a little fishing, by serfs and Negro slaves only, in the lakes on the Tavili plateau. Dog flesh is not eaten. There is considerable gathering--of sorrel (Rumex vesicarius), the fruits of the Nitraria tridentata, Salvadora persica (toothbrush tree), and Zizyphus spina-christi (jujube) and mushrooms (Cheiromyces leonis) as food, of rosemary (Rosmarinus officinalis) and thyme (Thymus hirtus), of the seeds of Aristatherum pungens and the stalks of Phelipaea violacea which are dried and made into flour as famine foods, and of gum arabic (Acacia aribica), the seeds of colocynth (Citrullus colocynthus) as a gout remedy, and the grains (for oil) of African rue (Peganum harmalia) for export. Trade is done at the caravan centers of Ghadames and Ghat. Salt is obtained in Amadghor in the W or by trade from Fezzan.

Sex Division of Labor

Women do not engage in food-producing activities.

Property

Property is divided into two categories: (1) personal property, including everything acquired by the individual's own efforts, including money, weapons, livestock, purchased slaves, and agricultural produce, and (2) "illegitimate" property, owned only by nobles, and including all rights based upon force, i.e., rhefer (customary rights to exact dues from caravans and travelers), gharama (protection paid by other peoples to avoid raids), melak (title to agricultural land, pasturage, and water sources), imhrad (personal and property privileges with respect to Imrad or vassals), and soltna (authority to command and to exact obedience). Most personal property, especially in livestock, is owned by women. So-called "illegitimate" property is apparently associated with headship of a family.

Personal property is patrilineally inherited--by children, who receive equal shares regardless of sex. So-called "illegitimate" property is matrilineally inherited--by ElSiElSo, without partition.

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Social Stratification

There is a complex social stratification, composed of the following elements:

a. Nobles (Ihaggaren), the members of five noble tribes. They alone exercise political authority; they do no productive labor except camel herding; they refuse to eat fish, fowl, or eggs, which other classes except marabouts eat; they police the tribal territory, protect caravan routes, wage war if necessary, and engage in raids on other groups. They are fed and supported by the sedentary oasis dwellers around the harvest season, by caravan merchants during the caravan season, and by the serfs at other times.

b. Marabouts, the members of two maraboutic tribes, noble in origin, but who have eschewed political for religious activities; they are literate and educated, and act as teachers, judges, and arbiters of disputes.

c. Serfs (Imrad), who outnumber the nobles and marabouts about 4 to 1. Some are nomadic herders, others sedentary tillers. They are organized into tribes, which are tributary to noble (or marabout) tribes, their annual tribute being reported as a camel a year and the milk from 12 ewes or goats. Some are clearly of Caucasian blood, but the majority are strongly mixed with Negro blood because freed slaves and their descendants become Imrad; it is considered a pious act to free slaves at the death of their master, and a slave woman married to a free man becomes free. Serfs bear arms and fight.

d. Slaves (Ikelan). All are Negroes purchased or captured from other tribes. They are owned mainly by nobles and are employed as house servants, to tend herds, and to conduct convoys. Women are sometimes taken as concubines or even wives. The transmission of slave status, indeed all status, is matrilineal.

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Marriage

A bride-price in livestock is customary. There is considerable elaboration of the ideal of romantic love, and women enjoy a very high status.

Strict monogamy prevails, and even the taking of slave concubines is apparently rare.

Family

The system of property suggests an extended family (or possibly lineage) organization.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Matrilineal descent prevails with respect to social class status, and there is inferentially a segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Settlement Pattern

The nobles and other pastoral groups live in migratory bands. A camp consists of tents pitched in a circle around a corral for livestock. The tents are made of tanned skins sewn together and dyed red, and/or of mats, supported by posts and pegged to the ground. Sedentary serfs live in villages of huts with thatched roofs and walls of branches, each hut being surrounded by a fence.

Community Organization

A sedentary settlement is said to be occupied by 6-12 families forming a "famille consanguine."

Local Government

Each "tribe" (tausit) is governed by an assembly (mia'ad) of adult males, over whom one presides by right of seniority.

State

In the 17th century the Azjer and the Ahaggar were united under a single paramount chief (amanokal) of the noble Amanan tribe, but since then they have been split into two independent confederations. The Azjer confederation is headed by a hereditary sheik (amghar), who is succeeded by a SiSo. The Azjer are protectors of the commercial towns of Ghat and Ghadames, and the effectiveness of this protection is largely responsible for their economic prosperity.

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Warfare

Though warlike, the Azjer are characterized by a greater degree of order and less anarchy than any other Tuareg tribe.

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Identification

The Ifora are a Tuareg tribe, especially closely related to the Aulliminden. They belong to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock, and are Moslems. Lhote (1944) gives their total population as about 4, 200. They are divided into four divisions --the Kel Tassile, Igedad, Dag-Elemtei, and Ouqqiren. They use an old Berber system of writing.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral and nomadic. Very little agriculture is done. Dates are the chief crop, but some onions, peppers, tobacco, and a very little barley, wheat, and millet are cultivated in irrigated gardens. Numerous camels, donkeys, cattle, sheep, and goats are kept, as well as dogs and a few horses, but no chickens. The sheep have hair, rarely wool. Cattle are of the zebu breed, and there are some pack oxen. Women ride donkeys. The staple food is milk, drunk sweet or sour, and cheese (butter is not made). Camels, goats, and sheep are milked (no mention of cows in this connection). There is a fair amount of hunting, but no fishing. Collecting produces the principal supplement to the milk diet. Many wild grains are collected, including the seeds of Pennisetum distichum. A modest amount of trade is done. Luxury objects and rugs are obtained from Ghat or Ghadames via the Ahaggar. Small caravans are conducted to Bourem on the Niger, where rice and sorghum are obtained in exchange for livestock. Salt and leather goods are obtained from Air. Caravans from Tuat bring dates, cloth, tobacco, and pottery to exchange for camels, sheep, and captured slaves.

Sex Division of Labor

Men do all herding, hunting, and milking. Agriculture is done only by slaves and Haratin. Women do not engage in food production.

Property

Each tribe has collective ownership in particular grazing grounds. Inheritance is said to follow the Koranic law, one seventh (sic) going to the widow and the rest being divided equally among the children with sons taking double shares.

Social Stratification

There is a complex structure of social classes, composed of the following elements:

a. Nobles (Ihaggaren), who live mainly by warfare and raiding.
b. Marabouts (Zaouia), members of one tribe with sub-tribes. They engage in herding and often in caravan trade, do not bear arms, are literate in Arabic and Tuareg, and act as teachers.
c. Vassals (Imrad), who are organized in tribes but are attached to individual nobles, for whom they herd and whom they accompany in raids. The nobles never intermarry with them.
d. Serfs (Harratin), owned by the families of chiefs, for whom they do agricultural work.
e. Slaves, who are Negroes obtained in raids or by purchase. Their status is hereditary, though manumission is common and is considered a pious act. Children born to slaves are never sold.
f. Artisans of Negro blood form a strictly endogamous caste. They manufacture tools, weapons, utensils, jewelry, and wooden objects.
g. Irreganaten, a special group descended from Arab nobles of Tidikelt who married Tuareg women and lived matrilocally with them in Ifora country.

Marriage

Marriages are arranged through an intermediary. A bride-price is required, consisting of two camels. The bride receives from her parents a dowry of 2-3 camels, a set of clothing, a new mat tent, and a female slave.

Absolute monogamy prevails. Unlike the Ahaggar, the Ifora do not even take Negro slaves as concubines.

Residence

A newly married couple set up their tent near that of the bride's parents, but there is no indication that such matrilocal residence is permanent.

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Kin Groups and Exogamy

Descent is patrilineal. An Ifora is stated specifically to belong to the tribe of his father, not that of his mother. "Les Ifor'as ne cherchent pas à se marier dans leur propre famille."

Settlement Pattern

The ruined town of Es-Souk has remains of rectangular houses with courts which imply a population of 2, 000 or more. Today, however, the Ifora live exclusively in tents of tanned goat or sheep hides dyed red, sewn together, supported on a wooden framework, and fixed to the ground by ropes and pegs. There are two shapes. The most common is round, with a central post, peripheral posts, a slightly domed roof, and walls covered with mats. Less common are smaller tents with a framework of 4-6 vertical poles with crossbars and an open veranda at one side.

Local Government

Each noble and vassal tribe has a sheik (amrar).

State

All the Ifora tribes acknowledge one paramount chief (amenukal), whose authority is nominal, who receives no tribute and is supported only by his own Imrad, and whose decisions must all be ratified by a council of 5-10 members, all representative of noble tribes. Succession is by election of the council from within one patri-lineage, with the order of preference a younger brother, then the eldest among the sons and brothers' sons. The Ifora have normally paid regular tribute to the Aulliminden.

Warfare

The Ifora are warlike raiders. Captured booty is divided equally among noble and Imrad members of the raiding party, with a special share to the chief. The hereditary enemies of the Ifora are the Air, Berabish, and Kunta.

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Identification

The Ihajenen (Ihadjenen, Ihadshenen), with the associated Ibakammazen, Rhafsa (Kel Rhafsa), Tarat (Kel Tarat), and Telaq) (Kel Telaq) of less noble origin, are the basic Berber inhabitants of Ghat, an important oasis city with a population in 1864 of 4, 500, including outlying villages. They speak a language akin to but dialectically different from Tuareg, and thus belong to the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. The town is essentially an outpost of Fezzan. Unlike Ghadames, it has no known ancient history. It was founded, according to local tradition, about five centuries ago by the Berber groups listed above. They have received large accretions from elsewhere, especially merchants from Ghadames, Touat, Sokna, and Djalo who have married local women and left descendents of heterogeneous composition.

Basic Economy

Primarily commercial, with agriculture by irrigation and animal husbandry. There are extensive groves of date palms and many cultivated gardens. There is considerable handicraft industry, but trade is all-important. Ghat lies at the cross-roads of major caravan routes to Ghadames in the N, Murzuk in the E, and Agades in the S.

Property

Most of the dwellings, gardens, and springs are owned by the Ihajenen women.

Inheritance is inferentially matrilineal.

Social Stratification

There are Negro slaves, serfs, and free Berbers and Arabs.

Settlement Pattern

Ghat is an oasis town surrounded by a circular wall and includes a number of surrounding villages. The houses are small apartments built around the edges of a rectangular court.

Community Organization

The town is divided into six quarters.

Local Government

The town is ruled by a hereditary sheik or sultan (amghar). Succession to this office is matrilineal--by SiSo. There is also an assembly.

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State

The town of Ghat has maintained political independence, but is under the protection of the Ajjer Tuareg. Turkish rule was established in 1874 with a qaimakam and a garrison of 200, ending the previous period of Tuareg "protection."

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Identification

The Udalan (Oudalen, Wadalen), with whom are included the Logomaten, Kel Gossi, Tingeregedech, and a series of lesser tribes tributary to the last, are a Tuareg nation, speaking a language of the Berber branch of the Hamito-Semitic stock. The tribes of this group are more closely akin to the Aulliminden than to the Antessar and Iguadaren. They are offshoots of the Iforas of Adrar. The Tingeregedech and Logomaten entered their present location as a branch of the expanding Aulliminden about 1825, but the Udalan arrived much earlier. The French occupied the country in 1899 and 1900. All the tribes of the group are Moslems. The Udalan proper number about 11, 600, including their Bella serfs, according to Gaalon (1939), but Coutouly (1923) reports 3, 500 Tuareg and 10, 700 Bella in the same region.

Basic Economy

Primarily pastoral, with transhumance. Only the Bella slaves do a little "millet" agriculture. Cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, and camels are kept. Milk, together with butter and cheese, constitutes the principal element in the diet. Wild seeds, especially of Cenchrus catharticus, are gathered to tide over the food shortage just before the harvest.

Sex Division of Labor

Milking is done by men.

Property

Livestock are the chief form of wealth and movable property. Each tribe has its definite grazing territory, which all members are free to use. Eminent domain over all land is vested in district chiefs, from whom permission to clear must be obtained in return for 10% of the harvest. Tuareg (except Bella) who use a piece of land for a number of years acquire heritable usufruct therein, but without power of sale.

Inheritance is matrilineal--by sisters' sons, then nearest matrilineal kinsman.

Social Stratification

There are sharp caste distinctions. Each caste (or class) is largely endogamous, and membership is determined by matrilineal descent. The several castes are:

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a. Imochar or nobles, who are pure Caucasian in race and disdain all work except herding as degrading. There are very few of them (Coutouly says only 92 in the Dori district).
b. Imrad or vassals, who are mixed Caucasians and Negroes descended from former subjugated peoples. They are much more numerous than the nobles, to whom they pay tribute in grain or livestock. Many of the Imrad of the region are now independent and rank, in fact, as nobles. The Imrad are organized in distinct tribes from the Imochar.
c. Marabouts, a pious and literate class, whose status in this region is inferior to that of the Imrad.
d. Bella or serfs, descendants of Negroes captured in wars and raids. They own no heritable property, could formerly be sold by their owners, and can still be given as part of a dowry. Bella are not organized into tribes of their own, but groups of them are attached to each Imochar or Imrad tribe--some as house servants, most settled in separate villages, where they conduct agriculture and pay annual tribute in grain and livestock to their owners. They greatly outnumber the Tuareg proper in this region.
e. A special caste of free Bella coppersmiths who are not liable to taxation.

Marriage

Marriage involves a substantial bride-price, paid by the groom's father to the parents of the bride. It consists normally of two camels, 8-10 cattle, or 40 sheep. A bride is also endowed with a dowry of livestock or even Bella. Virginity is not demanded, and its lack is never a reason for annulment.

Monogamy is overwhelmingly preponderant, and even concubinage is forbidden. Secondary unions are permitted with BrWi and WiSi.

Residence

Children live with their father only as long as their mother lives or

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resides with him. On her death or divorce they go to live with their MoBr, only remaining with their Fa if his wealth in livestock assures them an easy existence. A MoBr, if he thinks his SiCh is being mistreated, can take him away from the Fa at any time.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is forbidden with any aunt, niece, or granddaughter, but is allowed with first cousins.

Descent is matrilineal. Membership in tribal groups and social classes follows that of the mother. There is a suggestion of segmentary matri-lineage organization.

Settlement Pattern

The Tuareg proper (Imochar and Imrad) live in nomadic bands, many of the Bella in settled villages. Dwellings are of several types. The Tuareg proper normally live in tents of tanned cowhide stretched over a simple framework of four upright forked poles with two crossbars (the skins are often dyed red), but frequently they live in elliptical mat tents, and sometimes in temporary straw shelters; in all cases the dwellings are dismountable and transported on camels or donkeys. The sedentary Bella often live in round huts with conical thatched roofs and cylindrical walls of mats or sorghum stalks.

Community Organization

The Tuareg are organized in tribal groups, said to correspond with the villages of the neighboring sedentary tribes. To each is attached one or two villages of sedentary Bella. Circumcision is practiced, but not clitoridectomy.

Local Government

Each nomadic band has a chief.

State

The Udalan proper are organized under twelve district chiefs (amenokal) of noble blood. Succession is matrilineal--by SiSo. The Tingeregedech, Logomaten, and a series of vassal and tributary tribes have been organized since 1900 into a unified confederation under a Tingeregedech paramount chief. All were at one time at least nominally tributary to the Aulliminden.

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Tuareg MS25
Udalan

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Warfare

Warfare and raids were formerly endemic.

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